S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat" (or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Öliöts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 179 S [184] Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N 563 794 The Salars:

In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] N [191] N 563 794 179 184 To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

SN 121 197 563

I. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

SN 635 161

The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

S 162

A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2) Kazakhs	300,000 "
3) Kirghiz	70,000 "
4) Taranchi	43,000 "
5) Uzbeks	8,000 "
6) Tatars	5,000 "
	3,426,000

S 114

It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Olots	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

S
19 but before *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bičig "letter, writing"	bitə̆g (or bitə̆ŋg)
čimůgen "hammer"	tə̆imgn̥
čiraɣ "face"	tə̆irə̄

5) The Common Mongolian *e became *ŏ in certain positions:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
ebůsůn "hay"	ŏwsn̥
ebůddg "knee"	ŏwdᵊg
ebedčin "disease"	ŏwtə̆n̥
elgů- "to hang"	ŏlg-

6) The Written Mongolian (old Mongolian) diphthongs have developed into long vowels in the Kalmuck language:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
dalbaɣai "large and flat"	dalwaɣə̄
duldui "iron rod"	duldū
gei "handle of an axe"	gē
moɣai "snake"	moɣə̄
alɣui "name of a plant"	alɣū

7) The Common Mongolian vowels have developed into front vowels before the Common Mongolian *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bari- "to seize"	bär-
qari- "to come back"	χär-
sayin "good"	sän

N B. The Monguor Language

*563 [197] M [197] One of the strangest Mongolian languages is Monguor, because it preserves still some Middle Mongolian peculiarities and also because it is under the influence of initial forms which are characteristic of Tibetan. Those Mongols who call themselves Monguors live in the Chinese province of Kansu and practice nomadic animal breeding as well as some agriculture. The Chinese call them Tu-jen. The Mongols of the Mongolian People's Republic call them Dolot. The sub-group of San-chuan Mongols (Monguor) live north of Kuan-ting. The Santa live south of the Yellow River and east of Tao-ho. The sub-group of the Shera-Yogur live around Kan-chou, Su-chou and Tun-huang. All these tribes are Buddhists with the exception of the Santa, who have become converted to Islam. Culturally the Monguors, at least partially, appear to be mongolized Turks and Tibetans.

M [101] [361]

M 19 The following observations may be made about the Monguor language:

1) The Monguor language has preserved the Common Mongolian *p or *ɸ as *f and as *χ:

N
19 3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ɛ̃

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tʂ-, tʂh-, ʂ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-

b) Contrast between v- and u-

c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i

S
N
● 197 d) Contrast between -ɛ̃ and -əŋ

S
[563] Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the
[67] U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers, and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e. Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek). The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

N
*175 The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects
197 of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese
S texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang.
175 These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be
197 directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different development in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

V Concluding Remarks

S
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191 Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

/The Monguors/

tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan

/The Tibetans/

*563 [197] race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact [177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every- [648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agriculturalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own [181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they take readily and successfully to farming.

[142] There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short, round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prominent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of [291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress, [177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with [516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

[181] On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cautious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 342 a. Dwelling

Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

*563 342 352 353 The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour, and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a [237] stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a [372] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.

b. Food

*563 262 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high altitude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety [241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The [489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 264 There are no regular meal times in most households. In winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day; in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they [262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N H. The Salars

795 563 [197] [142] The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N [669] [793]

N [197] [212] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N A. Sites of Religious Traditions

346 798 The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent
*563 times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political
*[668] Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit
S (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
829 For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai,
563 Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more
[668] unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of
S gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real
N and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiri-
[792] tual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of
S Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding
N wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever
● [797] Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

N.W. China AF 13
Tu ren

subjects of Lu tu se who has his residence on the lower Da tung River in Lien tschen. If one passes through a Tu ren village of this kind, there is little noteworthy to be seen on an ordinary day. The houses are the same stamped-loam, flat-roofed dwellings that the Kansu Chinese build. At most /247/ we note that the women in these towns wear their feet only lightly bound or not at all. 563 342

At the present time the Tu ren speak mostly Chinese, but they have also kept alive a language of their own which only they understand. It is not written and consists of many dialects. I was repeatedly told that almost no one is familiar with Mongolian writing. Seven-tenths of the Tu ren language in the vicinity of Wei yüan bu is made up of Mongolian words, the remaining three-tenths has many peculiarities, probably of Turkish origin, but also contains Tiberan and Chinese words. (1) 563 197

1. The following sample may already show that the language is related to the Mongolian:

1	-	niga	11	-	haran nigă
2	-	hor	20	-	horun
3	-	horăn	30	-	h'otschin
4	-	deren	40	-	tetschinn
5	-	t'awen	50	-	t'a yin
6	-	dyurgon	60	-	tscheran
7	-	dôlon	70	-	dalan
8	-	nimen	80	-	wayen
9	-	schetsin	90	-	yeren
10	-	hăran	100	-	negadyon

I - bu (wu)
you - tschi
he - tie
There is no plural pronoun.

man - de dyekon
woman - wereken
child - mola beli
Mohammedan - h'ui h ui
Chinese - h'ara tschitad
Gumbum - sgumbun
woman's coiffure - nudar
camel - temien

5: Tafel--421 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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Tu ren

197
563

I eat	-	wu tschilarä
bread	-	borzordeno
Buddha	-	skopdyo renbodye
living Buddha	-	Yerech'tuch' te
tea	-	dya
teacup	-	aira
sky	-	tingere
temple	-	larang
horse	-	more
mule	-	lossa
plough	-	radschar fulin (Mongolian on Koko Nor: diasse, meaning "tool" in Chinese)
house	-	ger
tent	-	re (black tents: mongu bau /Chinese/ the Mongolian tents)
ride horseback	-	moru h'anä
walk	-	so wade
I came	-	tschüre wu
I went	-	tschisch tschewu

563
101 The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu told me they were Mongols. In their own language they call themselves mongrolken, and while they call the other, actual Mongols of the region h'ara monggo, that is: black Mongolians, they speak of themselves as the "white" or "yellow" ones. Most of them are farmers today, like the Chinese [186] who afterwards immigrated. Many of them are very proud and self-conscious and regard themselves as very special and much better and more aristocratic than the Chinese and Tibetans. Nor do they like the real Mongols. This is obvious from the epithet h'ara meaning "black" which they give them, for this is of course synonymous with "bad," while they themselves are the tsah'an, the white or good sheep. In Chinese they refer to themselves as "Tu ren." In a valley west of Wei yüan bu they told me: "We are 'Tu gu h'u ren' and we are the ones who came here first." It is true, I did not find many of those who called themselves Tu gu h'u ren (often also pronounced: Tu gu h'ung), probably 2,000 at the most, and they did not have their own prince but were directly subject to the hsien 563 of Hsining and Niem be. They told me: "We carried on farming 173 here when all the others were still wild and uncivilized." (2)

2. Wieger, S. J., Textes historiques, Vol. II, p. 1070